

TIME

Beyond 9/11

Tribute in Light Years

By Julian LaVerdiere
and Paul Myoda,
co-creators of *Tribute in
Light* in New York City

\$5.99 US \$6.99 CAN



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Sept. 11, 2001 / 8:46 a.m. Hijackers crash American Airlines Flight 11 into floors 93 through 99 of the World Trade Center's north tower / **9:03 a.m.** Hijackers crash United Airlines Flight 175 into floors 78 through 84 of the World Trade Center's south tower / **9:37 a.m.** Hijackers crash American Airlines Flight 77 into the Pentagon's western facade / **9:42 a.m.** The Federal Aviation Administration grounds all flights over or bound for the continental United States for the first time in U.S. history / **9:59 a.m.** After burning for 56 minutes, the south tower of the World Trade Center collapses / **10:03 a.m.** Hijackers crash United Airlines Flight 93 in a field in Shanksville, Pa., to prevent passengers who mounted a counterattack from retaking the airplane. The crash site is approximately 20 minutes' flying time from Washington / **10:28 a.m.** After burning for 102 minutes, the north tower of the World Trade Center collapses / **8:30 p.m.** President George W. Bush addresses the nation: "Today our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The death toll will eventually stand at nearly 3,000, including the 19 hijackers / **Sept. 12, 2001** Twenty-six hours after the collapse of the north tower, rescuers pull Genelle Guzman out of the wreckage; she is the last survivor to be rescued / **Sept. 14, 2001** Bush visits the World Trade Center site. In an impromptu speech from atop a crushed fire engine, he says, "The people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon." / **Sept. 15, 2001** Balbir Singh Sodhi, a Sikh, becomes the nation's first post-9/11 victim of a hate crime when he is gunned down in Mesa, Ariz., while pumping gas at a service station. The killer tells police he was lashing out against "Arabs" after watching the Twin Towers collapse on television over and over again. In the 3½ months following the 9/11 attacks, more than 300 federal criminal investigations will be initiated in response to similar hate incidents / **Sept. 16, 2001** Bush names Osama bin Laden the prime suspect. Bin Laden issues a statement: "I stress that I have not carried out this act." / **Sept. 17, 2001** Chicago *Tribune*: "Get bin Laden 'Dead or Alive,' Bush Says" / **Oct. 5, 2001** Robert Stevens, a photo editor for the Florida-based tabloid the *Sun*, dies of pulmonary anthrax after inhaling spores from a letter mailed from Trenton, N.J., on Sept. 18. Other letters are believed to have been sent to ABC News, CBS News, NBC News and the New York *Post* / **Oct. 6, 2001** The last federal rescue team leaves Ground Zero; the mission officially shifts to recovery / **Oct. 7, 2001** After the Taliban refuses to hand over Osama bin Laden, the U.S. and its allies launch Operation Enduring Freedom. In an address to the American people, Bush says, "On my orders, the United States military has begun strikes against al-Qaeda terrorist-training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan." In a videotaped message, bin Laden says, "America [is] full of fear... Thank God for that." / **Nov. 2, 2001** New York Governor George Pataki and New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani establish the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation to oversee the rebuilding of the Trade Center site / **Dec. 3, 2001** With the Taliban having been routed in Afghanistan, the U.S. focuses on hunting bin Laden, who according to intelligence reports is hiding in a fortified maze of tunnels and caves in Tora Bora / **Dec. 13, 2001** Officials in Washington release a videotape of bin Laden speaking to a Saudi guest and incriminating himself in the 9/11 attacks, saying, "We calculated in advance the number of casualties." A Washington *Post* headline: "For Families of Victims, a Decision: Do I Really Want to Watch This?" / **Dec. 20, 2001** New York *Post*: "Twin Towering Inferno Finally Out," one day after Pataki announces that the fires at the World Trade Center site have been extinguished / **Dec. 22, 2001** Richard Reid attempts to detonate a bomb inside his shoe aboard American Airlines Flight 63 bound for Miami from Paris; he is subdued by flight attendants and passengers / **Dec. 23, 2001** TIME names Giuliani its 2001 Person of the Year / **Jan. 11, 2002** The first 20 detainees arrive at Guantánamo Bay detention center; a week later Bush decides detainees' standing as terrorists disqualifies them from prisoner-of-war protection under the Geneva Conventions / **Jan. 29, 2002** In his State of the Union address, Bush labels Iran, Iraq and North Korea the "axis of evil" / **Feb. 1, 2002** *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl is beheaded by al-Qaeda after being kidnapped in Pakistan on Jan. 23 / **March 11, 2002** Marking the six-month anniversary of the attacks, the *Tribune in Light*, an installation projecting two shafts of light upward from lower Manhattan, is unveiled. New York *Post*: "The Light Fantastic: Glowing Tribute 'Shows World We Aren't Giving Up.'" / **USA Today**: "Eyes, Hearts Turn to Heavens over NYC" / **April 11, 2002** Al-Qaeda claims responsibility for a truck explosion on the Tunisian island of Djerba that kills 19 people / **May 21, 2002** Coleen Rowley, an FBI agent in Minnesota, submits a 13-page letter to FBI Director Robert Mueller detailing how the agency mishandled and failed to take action on information provided by the Minneapolis field office about suspected terrorist Zacarias Moussaoui. In failing to take action, the FBI may have left the U.S. vulnerable to the 9/11 attacks, she writes. Along with two other whistle-blowers, she is later named TIME's 2002 Person of the Year / **May 28, 2002** Construction workers cut down the final standing column of the World Trade Center / **June 25, 2002** The last truckload of debris is carried off the Ground Zero site. In all, more than 7.8 million tons of debris are removed from the site and 19,435 body parts are recovered. New York Times: "Last 4 Firefighters Leave Ground Zero: 'Our Work Is Done'" / **July 16, 2002** Chicago *Tribune*: "Another Sad Chapter of Sept. 11 Closes; Search of Landfill Debris for WTC Victims Is Ended" / **Aug. 14, 2002** Following the public rejection of a first round of design proposals for the Trade Center site, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation announces a competition for a second round. It will attract some 2,000 entries / **Oct. 12, 2002** Terrorist attacks carried out by a group affiliated with al-Qaeda killed 102 at a nightclub strip on the Indonesian island of Bali / **Nov. 12, 2002** An audio recording surfaces in which bin Laden refers to the string of October attacks attributed to al-Qaeda and its allies, as well as a synagogue bombing in Tunisia in April and a car-bomb attack in Pakistan in May. Bin Laden threatens nations that have supported the U.S. in the aftermath of 9/11 / **Nov. 25, 2002** The Department of Homeland Security, a Cabinet-level organization comprising 22 agencies, including the Secret Service, TSA and FEMA, is created / **Nov. 27, 2002** The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, or 9/11 commission, is established at the request of the President and Congress / **Nov. 28, 2002** Suicide car bombers attack an Israeli-owned hotel near Mombasa, Kenya, leaving 13 civilians and the three suicide bombers dead. Two missiles narrowly miss hitting an Israeli charter jet—a Boeing 757 carrying 261 passengers—as it is taking off from the Mombasa airport. Al-Qaeda claims responsibility / **Feb. 5, 2003** Secretary of State Colin Powell appears before the U.N. Security Council to lobby in favor of military action in Iraq. He says, "There can be no doubt that Saddam Hussein has biological weapons and the capability to rapidly produce more, many more." / **Feb. 26, 2003** A design by Daniel Libeskind is chosen from among nine semifinalists for the rebuilding of the Trade Center site / **March 16, 2003** Days before the U.S. launches the invasion of Iraq, Vice President Dick Cheney says, "My beliefs is we will, in fact, be greeted as liberators." / **March 19, 2003** The U.S. begins its "shock and awe" campaign of bombings in Baghdad / **March 20, 2003** Chicago *Tribune*: "We Will Accept No Outcome But Victory." New York Times: "Bush Orders Start of War on Iraq; Missiles Apparently Miss Hussein" / **April 1, 2003** Private First Class Jessica Lynch, who was taken captive by Iraqi forces on March 23, is rescued by U.S. Special Ops. Lynch later blames the Pentagon for exaggerating her story for propaganda purposes. Four years later, she tells a congressional committee, "I am still confused as to why they chose to lie and tried to make me a legend, when the real heroics of my fellow soldiers that day were, in fact, legendary..." The bottom line is, the American people are capable of determining their own ideals of heroes." / **April 9, 2003** U.S.-led coalition forces take over Baghdad; Marines, along with Iraqi civilians, topple a massive statue of Saddam that stands in the main square. TIME cover: a red X over Saddam's face / **April 29, 2003** The Lower Manhattan Development Corporation launches a 9/11 memorial-design competition. / **May 1, 2003** Under a banner reading "Mission Accomplished," Bush declares an end to major combat operations in Iraq / **Oct. 6, 2003** TIME cover: "Mission Not Accomplished: How Bush Misjudged the Task of Fixing Iraq" / **Dec. 13, 2003** Saddam is captured by U.S. soldiers in a hole near Tikrit, Iraq. TIME cover: "We Got Him!" / **Dec. 19, 2003** The design is unveiled for the 1,776-ft. (541 m) Freedom Tower—now 1 World Trade Center—the product of a difficult collaboration between Libeskind and lead architect David Childs. Libeskind will later distance himself from the design, which will be credited solely to Childs / **Dec. 21, 2003** The American soldier is named TIME's 2003 Person of the Year / **January 2004** A jury of 13—including artists, designers and a family member of a 9/11 victim—selects Michael Arad and Peter Walker's *Reflecting Absences* as the winner of the 9/11 memorial competition. / **March 11, 2004** Terrorists detonate 10 bombs by cell phone on Madrid's train lines, killing 191 people and injuring some 1,800. The perpetrators were reportedly inspired by al-Qaeda, although the group had no direct involvement in the blast / **April 22, 2004** Army Corporal Pat Tillman, an NFL player who enlisted after 9/11, is killed in Afghanistan. His death, originally announced by the Army to be the result of enemy fire, is later discovered to have been caused by friendly fire / **April 28, 2004** Photos and descriptions of torture at Abu Ghraib (Continued on inside back cover)

BEYOND

9/11

4 The Day the Towers Fell

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES NACHTWEY

14 Portraits of Resilience

PORTFOLIO BY MARCO GROB
INTRODUCTION BY NANCY GIBBS

Danny Riches, Jim Riches, Tommy Riches,
Timmy Riches, George W. Bush, Bob Beckwith, Lyzbeth
Glick Best, Rudolph Giuliani, Gedeon Naudet,
Jules Naudet, Tom Brokaw, Brian Clark, Ron DiFrancesco,
Richard Fern, Stanley Paimnath, Tammy
Duckworth, Benamar Benatta, Howard Lutnick,
Kyle Lutnick, Dick Cheney, David Petraeus, James Yee,
Cindy Sheehan, Nora Mosquera, Felipe Pereira,
Joshua Frappier, Nicholas Robinson, Karah Jarrett, Valerie
Plame Wilson, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz,
Julian LaVerdiere, Paul Myoda, Daisy Khan, Ali Abbas,
William McRaven, Cristina Jones, Joseph Pfeifer

58 Rising Up

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOEL MEYEROWITZ

64 Terror's Half-Life

BY KURT ANDERSEN

ON THE COVERS

Front: Photo-Illustration by Julian LaVerdiere and Paul Myoda for TIME
Back: Photo-Illustration by Jenny Holzer for TIME; design by Brenda Phelps



American history has never followed a straight line.

We take detours, we sometimes stall, but we always move forward. The terrible events of Sept. 11, 2001, knocked us back and then put us on a different path, a 10-year journey that has affected much about our lives. A decade later, it feels as though we've settled into a kind of equilibrium.

TIME has devoted nearly 100 covers to the events that came out of that fateful morning—from the hunt for Osama bin Laden to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, from the anthrax scares to the controversies over Guantánamo Bay and Abu Ghraib, and ultimately to the rebuilding of the American spirit at home. As the 10th anniversary approached, we wanted to reflect on not just the memory of that day but also the defining moments of the 9/11 era.

Led by our director of photography, Kira Pollack, who conceived this project and presided over it with unflagging passion, we sought out the voices of the decade: the first responders, the survivors, the men who took us to war and the troops who are still fighting it. They are the people who were most directly affected—and the ones who most directly affected us. Their faces, in stunning black and white portraits by Marco Grob, fill these pages. Each person was interviewed separately, but they were all

asked the same first question: Where were you on Sept. 11, 2001? Some were at the World Trade Center or the Pentagon. Many watched the horrific events, knowing in that first instant that their lives—and the course of the nation—would change. Taken together, their stories tell not only of the tragedies and rare triumphs of that day but also of the tumultuous decade that followed. In looking backward, they also look forward—for themselves, for the nation and for the world.

One of the highlights of our 9/11 project was capturing the reunion of George W. Bush and retired New York City firefighter Bob Beckwith, with whom Bush was photographed atop a crushed fire truck during his first visit to Ground Zero, three days after the attacks. On July 11 we escorted Beckwith to the President's offices in Dallas for a photo shoot. The President warmly welcomed us, and it was clear he had a deep bond of affection for the man who stood beside him on one of the most important days of his presidency.

The shoots began June 1 and ended Aug. 26. Most of them took place in TIME's offices in New York City and Washington. Our first interview was with Ron DiFrancesco, one of only four survivors from above the 78th floor of the World Trade Center's south tower. The power and poignancy of Ron's story told us we were onto something. He appears here with the three other extraordinary men who survived from above the 78th floor. We also visited Ali Abbas, whose photograph ran in TIME in 2003, when he was 12 years old. At the time, he was in a Baghdad hospital, the victim of a U.S. bombing. His arms had been amputated, his body burned. Ali lives in London now; he speaks



Stills from the *Beyond 9/11* interviews on TIME.com

of returning to Iraq someday, when things get better there.

This issue contains five unpublished photographs of 9/11 taken by TIME's James Nachtwey, the legendary war photographer. Jim was in New York that morning and made his way to Ground Zero. Ten years ago, we published his extraordinary pictures from that day, but he had not opened his box of negatives since. Over the past few weeks, we had Jim in the office, poring over his contact sheets, reliving the events of Sept. 11. We also have a new portfolio by Joel Meyerowitz, who was the sole photographer allowed to document the first nine months of recovery at Ground Zero. He visited the site the day we went to press to make new pictures for this issue.

The interviews were conducted by Kate Pickert, Paul Moakley, Mark Thompson, William Lee Adams, Neil Harris and Kira, who interviewed President Bush. The issue was edited by executive editor Radhika Jones and designed by senior art director Emily Crawford. It was a labor of love for both of them. We commissioned only two pieces of writing: an essay by Nancy Gibbs, who wrote our 9/11 cover story to years ago, and one from novelist and journalist Kurt Andersen, who reflects on how we've changed. The issue contains no advertising; for the front and back covers, design director D.W. Pine commissioned original art by Julian LaVerdiere and Paul Myoda (who also appear in the issue as co-creators of the original *Tribute in Light* memorial) and by Jenny Holzer, who drew on words from the interviews for her work.

You may notice something different about the covers. For only the third time in our 88-year history, we have changed our

trademark red border. Ten years ago, we ran the border in black. For this momentous anniversary, we've changed it to silver.

A single magazine is not enough to contain a project that spans a decade. You can watch the complete interviews at time.com/beyond911, as well as in our iPad edition. We have published a companion book available at bookstores around the nation. A one-hour documentary, *Beyond 9/11: Portraits of Resilience*, presented in association with HBO, will air on HBO at

8:46 a.m. on Sept. 11, 10 years to the minute after the first plane hit the towers. It will also be shown on CNN and at several locations of the New York Public Library. The film captures the voices of the men and women in this issue, weaving their tales into a moving tribute. A separate film, *Voices of 9/11*, will be screened at New York City's Film Forum throughout the day on Sept. 11 and is free to the public. Marco's

portraits and videos will be on display at Milk Gallery in New York. And we're pleased to say these oral histories will find a permanent home in the memorial museum at Ground Zero.

On that morning 10 years ago, I was sitting in TIME's office in New York when I first heard news reports of the plane crashing into the World Trade Center. I was then the editor of TIME.com. I wrote the first news story of the grim events of that day and later went to the roof of the Time & Life Building to see the smoke rising from the southern tip of Manhattan. This issue is a fitting memorial to what we have all lived through and what we all remember.

—Richard Stengel, Managing Editor

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INTERVIEWS AND
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BYOND911](http://TIME.COM/BYOND911)

The Day the Towers Fell

Photographs by
James Nachtwey for TIME



*The World Trade Center's south
tower at the moment of collapse, with
St. Peter's Church in the foreground*







Scale of devastation



LIVE IN THE SOUTH STREET SEAPORT. I WAS HAVING A CUP OF coffee and looked out one of my windows that faced the East River and saw a lot of people standing on a rooftop looking up toward the sky in the opposite direction. So I went to the other side of my apartment, where there was a view of the World Trade Center. I saw the first tower burning. I didn't really understand what it was. I thought it might have been an accident, but an accident of that magnitude was something that was very important. So I began to assemble my cameras and film to head over that way. As I was doing that, there was a kind of vibration in the air—the windows shook a bit. I looked out the window again, and the second tower was burning. At that point, I realized America was at war.

I headed over to the World Trade Center. As has happened so often in my career, I was running into a place people were fleeing from. I got to the side of the building, and injured people were being set out on the sidewalk and being treated medically. Then the people came to push everyone back. I went around a corner and was standing in front of a church, and both towers were still standing and both burning. It was a very compelling kind of foreground. So I began photographing the towers with the cross from the church.

As I was doing that, the first tower collapsed, and the cloud of smoke and debris and torrent of paper and massive pieces of metal were just flying through the air. In my mind, it all went into slow motion. It was just floating, and I thought I had all

the time in the world to frame the picture. At the last second, I realized I was going to get hit with all of this, and I went into the building across the street.

I was stunned and felt compelled to get to the scene, so I made my way through the dust and the smoke. There were cars destroyed—police cars and fire engines—destroyed and burning. It looked like the set of a science-fiction movie of the apocalypse.

I had not put together that if the first tower fell, the second tower was likely to fall too. I was standing under it when I heard a sound like a waterfall in the sky, and I looked up and the building was coming down on top of me. I did an instant calculation in my mind and realized I had about five seconds to find shelter or I was dead. It was one of the most visually beautiful sights I had ever seen, just in terms of pure visual grandeur—the metal and the dust and blue sky. It was spectacular. It's one of those paradoxes where something so tragic can actually be beautiful, strange as that may sound. But I realized I didn't have time to even lift my camera. Across the street and across the block, I saw the open door of a hotel. It felt like I beamed myself over to it. I got there so fast, it seemed beyond human capability. I went into the lobby, which was all plate glass, and realized the lobby was going to be taken out.

Like an animal, I sought the deepest burrow I could find, the deepest recess to get away. I went into an elevator bank, got inside an elevator, put my back against the metal wall, and everything went black. I was completely blind. I couldn't see the hand in front of my face. I might've been dead for all I knew, except I was suffocating. That's how I knew I was alive. I thought I was buried. I thought I was under the rubble. I thought I would be trapped there. But I couldn't see anything, so I just began to move through this blackness, calling out to see if anyone was injured, if anyone needed help. No one answered, so I just kept moving forward and gagging as I was going.

At one point, I saw these tiny pinpoints of light and didn't quite understand what they were. Then I realized they were the lights of vehicles on the street. I realized I was outside and I wasn't buried. I oriented myself northward and began to move consciously. I began to see light emanating from the other side of the dust cloud, and I was out. I was alive.

I made my way down to the Hudson River and spent the rest of the day photographing firemen working. Anything anyone could do was dwarfed by the event. But the firemen, I think, felt compelled to do something. We knew there were a lot of people there, but they were all buried. I didn't see the dead, but I knew they were there, and it was somehow even all the more haunting.

I stayed down there till about 8:30, 9 o'clock. It was getting dark. I was out of film. I walked all the way up to the Time & Life Building and handed in my film. I was later told that you could see my footprints on the carpet and the imprint of my body in dust on the chair where I sat.' —James Nachtwey, interviewed by Kira Pollack, *New York City*, Aug. 23, 2011



"We were all very small in the face of what happened.
All any of us could do was what we knew how to do — and keep
doing it and not give in to despair and defeat." — L.S.





Searching for survivors





The view north

BEY

91

PORTRAITS OF

Portfolio by

OND



F RESILIENCE

Marco Grob



Remember September 10, 2001? A new study argued for tougher standards for arsenic in drinking water. Truce talks between Israelis and Palestinians were set to begin.

Researchers at the University of Texas were busy looking for creative ways to combat marauding South American fire ants. Unemployment had just leaped to 4.9%, the highest rate in four years, leaving a “whiff of panic in the air” at the White House, according to the *New York Times*. Schools across the country were tightening their dress codes in the face of microskirts and low-slung pants.

That was life at ground level, after a decade that demanded little more of us than to enjoy peace and prosperity and watch our carbs. America woke up the next morning and headed off to school or to work, unless the routine took a detour. Howard Lutnick, CEO of the trading firm Cantor Fitzgerald, was running late because it was his son Kyle's first day of kindergarten and he wanted to be there for the photograph of the grinning student with a new backpack and hair still wet from the comb.

We know this because Lutnick lived to remember September 11, while 658 of his co-workers above the 100th floor of the World Trade Center, including his brother, did not. He is here, in the pages that follow, as are the mayor and the fire chief and the first responders, the President and Vice President and Defense Secretary and the only four people to escape from above the 78th

floor of the south tower. There are statesmen and soldiers, protesters and prisoners, widows, artists, activists—the men and women who shaped the decade and were in turn shaped by it.

For a while, we all lived at Ground Zero. In the days that followed, there came vigils and funerals and uncountable private decisions that felt like tests of mind and muscle: Fight or flight? Buy or sell? Peace Corps or Marine Corps? Applications rose for both. People in small Iowa towns locked their doors for the first time. Flags were in such demand, they were stolen. Troops prepared to deploy, once we figured out where this fight would take them. We lived like survivalists, stocked canned goods, packed the go bags, learned the escape routes. But there came a time when the roads diverged and most people could turn away and move on, drink the bottled water, use the duct tape to fix a hose. We did not need to decide, as the widows did, when it becomes O.K. to throw away your husband's toothbrush. We did not need to designate, as the soldiers did, who should be our children's guardians as a decade of deployment began. We did not have to reckon, as American Muslims did, with the constant second look, the elasticity of liberty when a country gets scared. We did not have to wrestle, as the crew of American Airlines Flight 63 did, with a man trying to light his shoe and blow up a plane. We did not have to reinvent in real time the U.S. war machine, as the admirals and generals tasked with sniffing out shadows in caves did. A generation of soldiers and spies made it their mission to find and stop the bad guys. Their story is told here as well.

For the rest of us, it was harder to judge whether 9/11 was changing us. We watched the bittersweet unity of the moment dissolve over a decade of pitiless political cage fights, to the point that voters now toss out the ruling party in Congress every chance they get. We are still fighting two wars—as well as fighting about fighting the wars. Nine and a half years from the day, we united for a moment to celebrate the end of Osama bin Laden, the decade's dark monster. Was it over? Had we won? Yes and no. A poll this June found that two-thirds of Americans are most alarmed by new enemies: runaway deficits, health care costs, a political culture unwilling or unable to fix either one. We fear that we are our own worst enemy now. The 9/11 anniversary approached in a storm of anger and doubt about America's collective ability to show the qualities so apparent in individuals on that day: Courage. Toughness. Ingenuity. Sacrifice.

So maybe it helps to retrace our steps but this time fall in behind those who survived the day and never left it behind. For whatever they did, whatever they lost, there is little bitterness in what they have to say. Even the scarred, even the bereaved, even those who still have nightmares share through their stories the well of strength from which they drew—and still draw, when they get up every morning and see the picture on the nightstand of the one who never came home, fit the prosthetic to the place where a limb was severed in battle, breathe deeply before leaving the house because they will never again assume they know what the most ordinary day might bring. Maybe we can join them where they live, at least enough to remember what we are capable of, come out of the shadows and get back to work. —Nancy Gibbs



THE THINGS THEY LEFT BEHIND

The helmet of firefighter Jimmy Riches, who died in the north tower on Sept. 11, the day before what would have been his 30th birthday. It was found near his body on March 25, 2002.

It sounds
pretty
strange:
I'm one
of the
lucky ones.
I found
my son's
body.'

JIM RICHES

THE INVESTIGATOR
SERIES: AN IN-DEPTH
LOOK AT THE CASE





From left:

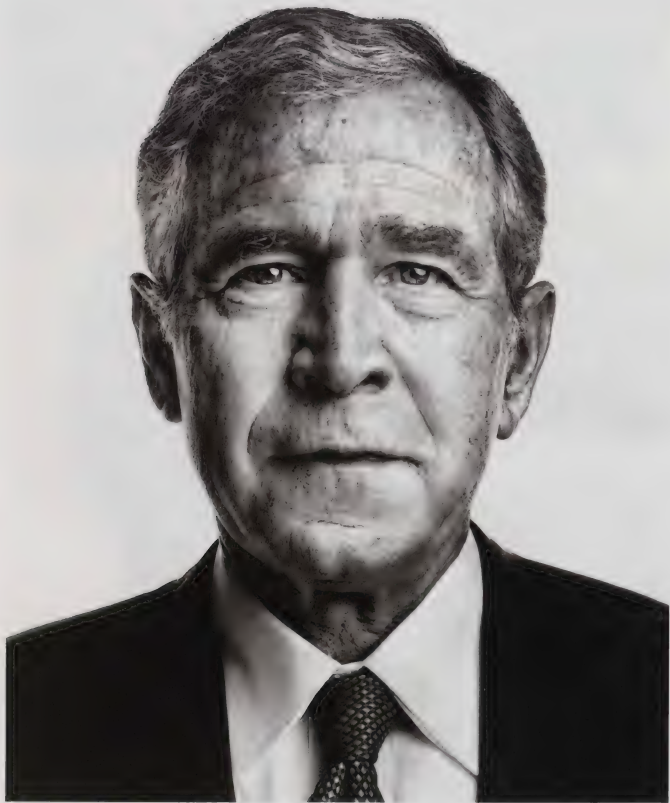
DANNY RICHES

JIM RICHES

TOMMY RICHES

TIMMY RICHES

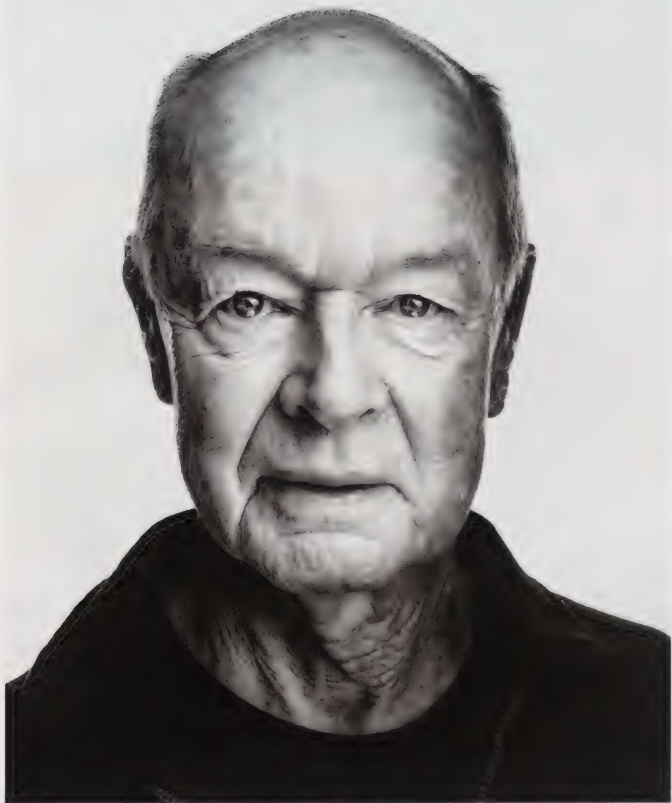
After their older brother Jimmy's death on Sept. 11, Danny, Tommy and Timmy Riches joined the New York City Fire Department. "I really love working where he worked," Danny says. "I know he'd be supportive of me and proud of me."



GEORGE W. BUSH

FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

"I don't spend a lot of time psychoanalyzing myself. I just know that when you're the leader of an organization, you've got to be resolute, compassionate, and you've got to know what you need to do. And I knew what we needed to do. I knew we needed to use all resources of our government to defend the American people."



BOB BECKWITH

FIREFIGHTER, 9/11; NEW YORK, LIVE! DOCUMENT

"He turned around with that megaphone and he said, 'I can hear you. The whole world hears you. And when we get these people that knocked these buildings down, they'll hear all of us soon.' That was so uplifting. That was a big speech. That was something. Then I helped the President down."



WAS VISITING MY PARENTS ON SEPT. 11. MY HUSBAND WAS taking a routine business trip to California, and our new baby was just 11 weeks old. I turned on the television, and I saw a plane hit the World Trade Center. At first I thought it was just a commuter plane. A little while later, a girlfriend called and asked if I had been watching the news and did I know where Jeremy was, and I said, "He's flying." A few minutes later, I saw the other plane hit the Trade Center, and I thought, This is a terrorist attack. Then the phone rang. I heard my mother say, "Thank God, Jeremy, it's you. We've been so worried." I ran to the room, and all the color had gone from her face, and she handed me the phone. He told me that his plane had been hijacked.

At first we both went into a little bit of a panic, and then we just started saying "I love you" to each other. I don't know if you can see into somebody's soul at that minute, but we were so close—just talking to each other, we brought calm and peace to each other. And then we both had a job to do. He was asking me information about what was happening in New York. It was clear to me that he and the other passengers were talking and were trying to assess the situation: Was this going to be a regular hijacking? I said no, I didn't think it was.

He told me he didn't think he was going to make it out of the plane, and I said, "Don't be silly. Of course you're going to make it. Be brave. Put a picture of me and Emmy—Emmy is our daughter—in your head, and be brave. We're going to get through this." He said they were going to take a vote. Did I think

it was a good idea for him to attack the hijackers? I told him I thought he needed to do it. He said he would be right back. I gave the phone to my father—I was too upset—and my father stayed on the phone for a long time afterward. A few days later, he told me he had heard a set of screams that sounded like they were doing it, and then he heard another set of screams that sounded like a roller coaster, and at that point the phone went dead.

The first day—I remember my girlfriend telling me, "This is the hardest day. This is the first day. The next day will be a little bit easier." And I'm looking at myself, who was in a beautiful spot in her life. I have a new baby, and I've got to make it O.K., because I didn't want to bring her into a world filled with a sad mother and a father that wouldn't be there. I did go to Shanksville about 10 days after the crash. It was a windy, rainy day, and I didn't feel like he was in the field.

The first year, you're trying to define a new normal, just getting through those first milestones with my daughter. Her first tooth, her first laugh, her first crawling, her first rolling over—all of those I did by myself. But I didn't sit in my house and look at the walls. I met with a counselor, and I had a group of 9/11 widows that I became very close with. These women were my lifeline, because I never had to explain anything to them. My friends didn't know that I was thinking about him and our last phone call 24/7. These women were feeling the exact same thing. So when it was time to clean up my husband's closet, I asked them for advice: Had anybody else done it? Do you still keep your husband's toothbrush next to the sink?

My daughter is 10 years old now. At 4, she came home from nursery school and said, "A boy told me my dad's plane hit a building," and I said, "You know what? It wasn't a building." It was hard to talk to her in the beginning. I keep a journal for her now. When I miss Jeremy and I want him to see something that she's doing, it's a way that I let my emotions out. This year she was in fourth grade, and they did a project at school called My Hero. She chose Jeremy. I think that by doing this project, she learned more about the sadness of the day. For 10 years she had heard what a wonderful brother, husband, father he was, what a hero he was to the country. But now I think she was seeing some of the pain associated with the violence of the day.

I think to anyone who lost a loved one on Sept. 11, even 10 years later it's still there. You turn on the news—I could be on the treadmill at the gym—and I see Sept. 11, I see Flight 93 and the field where my husband crashed, and emotions just overcome you. I don't think you ever get over the loss or the pain. Just the other day, I'm thinking, He's really not coming back this time, or not in this lifetime, and 10 years later that's still difficult for me to accept. But that doesn't mean I haven't found joy in my life. Somewhere along the way, I've learned to separate the pain from joy. I'm remarried to a wonderful man, and we have two beautiful children in addition to my older daughter. Life has moved forward. I teach college. I've had that job for almost 15 years. And my family is what's important to me." —*Lyzbeth Glick Best, interviewed by Paul Moakley, New York City, June 17, 2011*



LYZBETH GLICK BEST

WIDOW OF JEREMY GEER, PASSENGER ON FLIGHT 93

"I'm a very peaceful person. I don't even agree with war. I don't believe in the death penalty. But that's my personal belief. I know many families do want more of a revenge. For me, I think judgment comes in another life from here. I do have some anger, but I really, over 10 years, have tried to let it go."



RUDOLPH GIULIANI

"I believe that the general thrust of that day was positive for us. The losses, terrible. The personal losses are terrible, including for me. But as a society, I think we became more realistic and stronger."



GEDEON AND JULES NAUDET

"At 8:45 I remember filming the firefighters milling around in the streets, and we hear this very loud roar. It's New York, it's normal—you know, a plane. I can read "American Airlines" on it. It's that close. And it disappears behind a building so I just reflex, instincts—pan my camera to see where it will come out. And it smacks right into the World Trade Center." —L.S.



WORKED ALL THE WEEK THROUGH. THERE WAS SO MUCH GOING ON—the President with his addresses to the nation, the mustering of our military forces that were heading to Afghanistan first, trying to sort out who these hijackers were, hearing the stories of the survivors. I happened to have at that time a great personal assistant, Erin O'Connor, who was the wife of a cop, and her family were firefighters. They were going through their own emotional turmoil—her husband lost a friend at the WTC—but she was very alert to anything that was out of the ordinary. She had gathered a stack of threatening letters and had them off to the side of her desk. She showed me one that said, “Take penacilin now. Death to America. Death to Israel!”—very crudely written. *Penicillin* was misspelled, I remember that.

A couple of days later, Erin said to me, “I’ve got some kind of a skin inflammation going on.” She didn’t seem unduly upset by it. She had gone to see a couple of doctors. They weren’t sure what it was, but they had started her on Cipro, thank God, which is the antibiotic that you use. By the following Monday, she was in pretty tough shape. I have a friend who is a well-known infectious-diseases expert. We sent her to him the next day, and he was the first one to say to us, “I can’t rule out anthrax.” We got biopsies, and we sent them to Fort Detrick, which is the Army installation, and also to the CDC in Atlanta.

On Friday morning I’d gone out for a run early with my dog, and I came back in, and the phone was ringing. I picked it up, and they said, “Commissioner Kerik wants to talk to you.” He

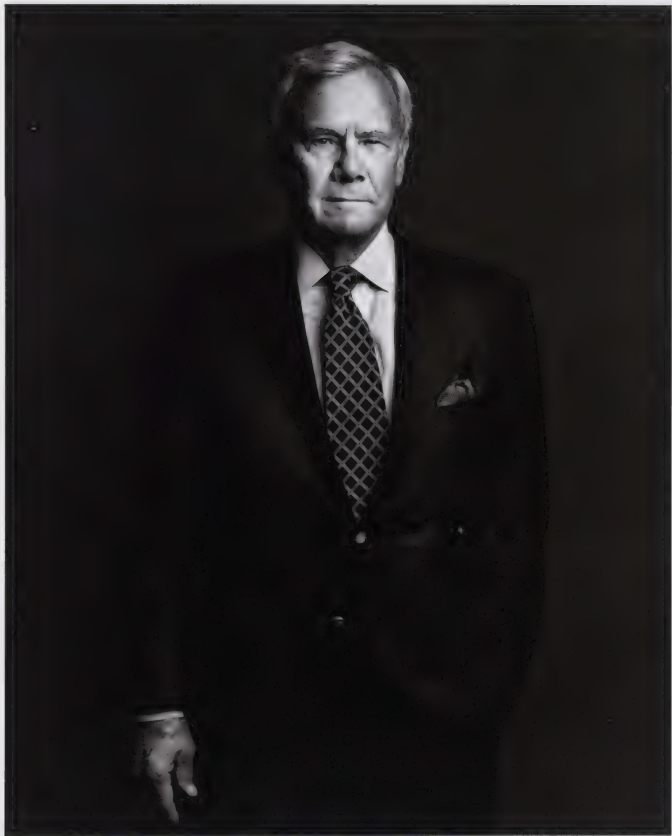
was the police commissioner at the time. He said, “Do you have an assistant that might have had an anthrax lesion of some kind?” And he said, “It’s positive. You’ve had an anthrax attack.” It’s hard for me to describe, even now, how disorienting it was.

I called Erin immediately. She was very, very upset—with very good reason. She had a small child, had taken a long time to have that child. She was worried about what else may be going on in their household. We didn’t know what to do. We learned that one of our interns, Casey Chamberlain, had opened the original letter and dumped out granular brown powder into a wastebasket that had a plastic bag that was sealed off by our maintenance people and disposed of, thank God. The letter that said, “Take penacilin now,” we still had, and when the haz-mat crowd from the NYPD came in to test that, it was very hot—and we knew we were in uncharted territory.

Thank God she was on Cipro, so the mass began to shrink. But there was this emotional toll that she was paying. If she could, sitting in my office, be the subject of that kind of attack, what else might happen? At the same time, we were hearing stories about ABC, CBS, the *New York Post*. It remained a mystery for a long time. The FBI says they’ve got the guy and that he’s the one who committed suicide. He worked at Fort Detrick. What was so stunning to me is we knew so little about biological warfare. We had no real protocol for dealing with it. We couldn’t even find out what anthrax looked like. Erin got well eventually. The house was vacated, completely cleaned, sold, and she moved on with her life. But she was the innocent victim of a terrible, evil act.

From a personal point of view, it was the hardest single thing I’ve ever gone through as a friend, as an employer, even as a journalist. We gave a lot of people Cipro over the course of the next few days, and I remember late in the afternoon on the day that we started to do that, our technical crew—the cameramen and the sound technicians and the stagehands—they’d come in later, they weren’t in on it, and they were furious. I went down and talked to them and said, “Look, this is what we know. It’s unlikely that you had any exposure, but we’re going to get you Cipro right away.” When the news ended that night, I said, “I have another way of dealing with this,” and I brought out two very large bottles of Jack Daniel’s and put them on the desk: “O.K., this is my vaccination against the effects of anthrax. Let’s drink up, guys.” So we all stood around and had a lot of shooters of Jack Daniel’s.

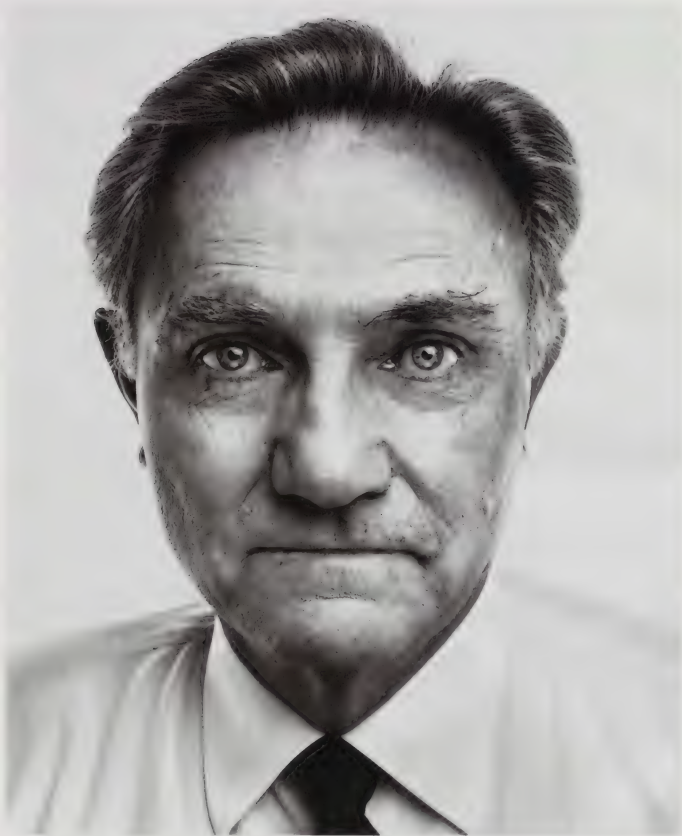
Both from a personal point of view, given what happened in my office, and then widening out the lens to take in all the rest of us, it was a reminder of how important personal relationships are. There was, at the moment of the attacks and in the days afterward, a kind of joining of hearts and minds and will in America, to get through this together. Somehow that’s begun to fray, and I think that’s sad. I don’t think it’s a worthy tribute to the people who died, and it ought not to be our legacy. We have to find a way to rekindle that flame.” —Tom Brokaw, interviewed by Paul Moakley, *New York City*, June 24, 2011



TOM BROKAW

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT AND HOMELAND SECURITY, NBC NEWS

"What troubles me as much as anything is that I don't think we are still very good at letting people know what the dangers are. The websites of the Department of Homeland Security, the CDC, still are not keeping pace, in my judgment. You ought to be able to go online in a central place, find out what anthrax is, what the effect of it is."



BRIAN CLARK

SURVIVOR WORLD TRADE CENTER, SOUTH TOWER, 14TH FLOOR

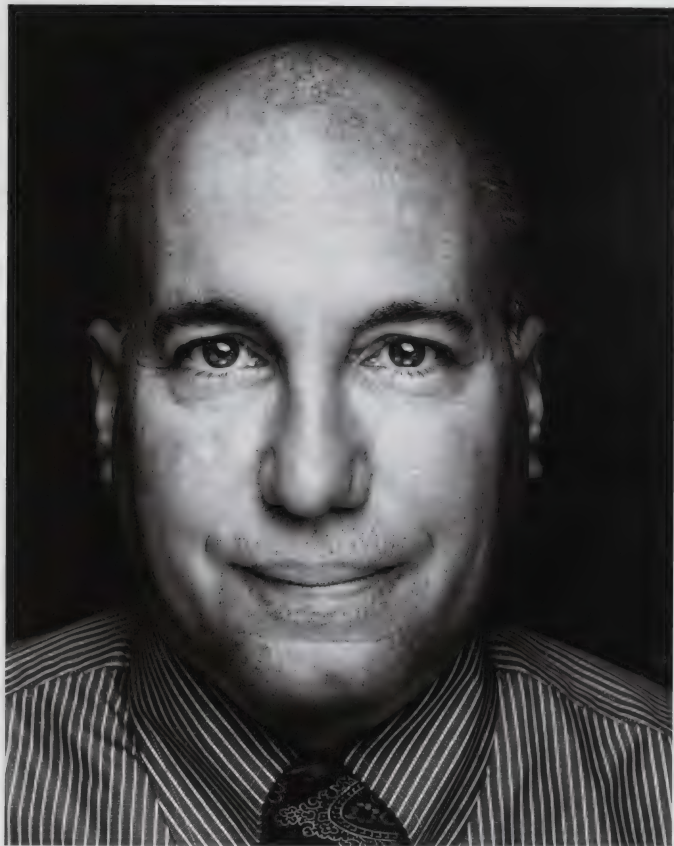
"I was intending to turn right, to stairway C, which is what I was in charge of as a fire marshal. Something, and I can't explain it, just pushed me around to the left. I went down the other hallway and went to stairway A. And with the fullness of time, we learned that there are no stories of anybody surviving from anything other than stairway A."



RON DIFRANCESCO

SURVIVOR, WORLD TRADE CENTER, SOUTH TOWER, 82ND FLOOR

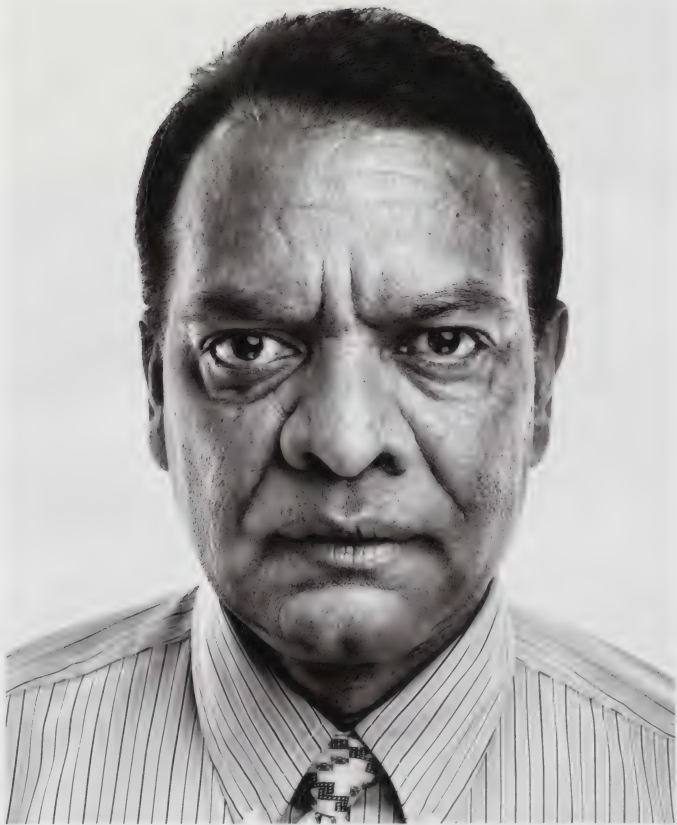
"I had burns, they say, on 80% of my body and a broken bone in my back. I had my contacts in, so they were melted to my eyes. I don't remember all of it. My wife says she came into the hospital two days later and walked right past me."



RICHARD FERN

Portrait by The Artist. Photo by The Artist. Photo by The Artist. Photo by The Artist.

"I always believed it was just the hand of God had me by the shoulder. And for every move that I made—whether it was to take the elevator, don't take the elevator, take the staircase—he was able to find me that door in the dark."



STANLEY PRAISNATH

"I looked at the site when I visited the last time there, and I watched that building, and I was happy. You could knock me down, you could beat me up, but I'm going to get up and fight again. You may tear down this building that I live in, but I'll make a bigger one. I'll make a better one."

“It’s

AN AMAZING OPPORTUNITY TO GET TO FLY BLACK HAWK HELICOPTERS for the United States. I picked aviation as my branch when I was becoming a lieutenant. In 1992, when I was a cadet, and we were sitting down to decide what we wanted to do, the men had to list three combat jobs. They could’ve been accounting majors wanting to become finance officers, but they still had to list infantry, armor, artillery. The instructor said, “Except for Duckworth. Duckworth doesn’t have to put any down. She’s female.” I felt that was just not fair to the guys. I was going to get the same rank, the same pay, and I wanted to face the same risks. So I said, “What branches accept women?” And he said, “Well, the only likely job women are going to be allowed to do in combat is flying.” So I made that my No. 1 choice, and I fought hard to get it.

We flew into Iraq in March 2004. I spent the entire time flying missions but also was the assistant operations officer. We were a task force of helicopter units. We had 44 aircraft, and my job as the battle captain was to make sure the operations ran smoothly every single day. November 2004—Nov. 12, eight months to the day from when I flew in—was when I was hit. This was during the battle for Fallujah. A lot of the insurgents had been flushed out of Fallujah and were heading north and east through Iraq. We’d flown missions all day long. I’d moved troops and equipment all over the battlefield. We stopped in the Green Zone. We rarely got a chance to stop for anything more than gas for the helicopter, but I bought some Christmas ornaments—scenes of Babylon. I thought I could mail this home in time for it to get to the family for Christmas.

Getting ready to end our day’s missions, we got the call: We have passengers for you, over in a base northwest of where we were. Can you please detour and come and pick up some of these passengers and go on home? So we did, and on the way back we flew over a nest of insurgents who had been flushed out of Fallujah. They ambushed us. They shot everything they had into the air. An RPG [rocket propelled grenade] came up through the chin bubble of the aircraft. We’re not sure whether it exploded

inside the aircraft or just outside, but basically in my lap. It vaporized my right leg, kicked my left up into the instrument panel of the aircraft, which amputated it, blew off most of my right arm—and all I could think of was, It’s time to land the aircraft.

The next thing I remember is waking up at Walter Reed. My husband during this whole time was sitting next to my bed and saying, “You’ve been hurt. You’re safe. You’re at Walter Reed,” over and over again for 10 days. So I woke up knowing that I’d been hurt but that I was safe. But while lying in that hospital bed, a couple things kept happening. There were very well meaning people who would come visit, and they felt sorry for me. I could feel the pity. I wanted them to know that I was proud to be where I was. So I asked my husband to print off the Soldier’s Creed and put it on my door because I wanted people coming in to my room to know that a soldier lies in this room. I would read it every day. And on the days I didn’t think I was going to make it, it got me through: *I will always place the mission first. I will never accept defeat. I will never quit. I will never leave a fallen comrade.*

I’ve had a tremendous opportunity to meet both combat vets in general and our wounded warriors. One of the first people I met was Juanita Wilson, sergeant first class. She lost an arm, and just a few weeks after she lost her arm, she started visiting me in the hospital. The medication wasn’t working, and there was about a five-day period when I was in just excruciating, unrelenting pain. And Juanita walks into my room—just a few weeks after she herself walked out of the hospital, she comes back in—and stands next to my bed, takes off her arm and looks down at me. “You’re going to be fine. You’re going to make it. Let me stand next to you.”

At the time, I was actually counting to 60 to survive. I didn’t think I would make it through the day, but there was a clock on the wall next to my bed, and I kept watching it, and I thought, I think I can survive 60 seconds. I would just lie there and count: one one thousand, two one thousand, three one thousand. I did that for five days straight. And she stood next to my bed and radiated this peace and serenity and showed me what was left of her arm and counted with me for five days.

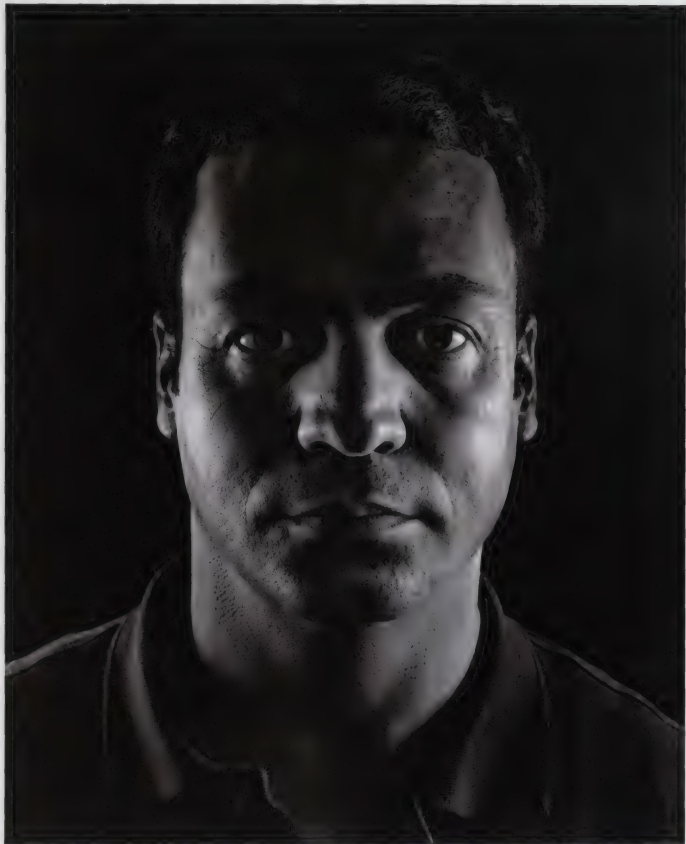
Everything I do in Veterans Affairs goes back to that day when I was shot down. It goes back to trying to live up to what my men died to save me. If I died that day, I would’ve died trying to do my job, and that would’ve been fine. But my guys saved me, and I feel that I owe them. I owe them every single day the best thing that I can do. So every day, I look at my job, and it frees me from sticking to the confines of bureaucracy, to the confines of existing rules and regulations and policies. I get to say, Wait a minute—if I were to die today or tomorrow, is this good enough? A lot of what I do is trying to reach out to my peers and to veterans of previous generations to talk about. Look, you can keep going. You can go through what I went through and continue to serve and continue to do more. We just have to be there for each other to get there.” —Tammy Duckworth, interviewed by Kira Pollack, Washington, June 23, 2011



TAMMY DUCKWORTH

HEAD WARDEN, LEAN PROUDER, ILLINOIS NATIONAL GUARD

"I think back to the 1990s, when I joined the Army, and all those peacetime years that we had thinking, 'Will we ever go into combat?' I had 12 years in the Army before I ever faced combat. People wonder, 'If I get tested, am I going to be good enough?' Our soldiers show every single day that they are more than good enough."



BENAMAR BENATTIA

ALGERIAN ARMY COMRADE DETAINED IN THE U.S. FROM SEPTEMBER 2001 TO JULY 2006

"I still hear the keys of the guards, the ones they used when they came to my cell to wake me every half hour. I still hear the keys when I'm sleeping. I check the windows and doors many times before I go to sleep."



HOWARD LUTNICK AND HIS SON KYLE

CELEBRITY PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL O'NEILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"Some people would say, 'Weren't you lucky that you weren't there?' If luck is defined by, I get to live, but all my friends, my brother and everyone gets killed, that's a strange sort of luck. But the fact was that maybe it was the luck of my son's school, that it was the first day of school."

'On

SEPT. 11, 2001, I BEGAN THE DAY IN MY WEST WING OFFICE IN the White House, in a session with my speechwriter. My secretary called on the intercom to tell me that a plane had struck the World Trade Center in New York. We were surprised, like everyone—a fantastic, clear day—that there had been this apparent accident. And as we watched, we saw the second plane strike, and then we knew it was a terrorist attack. My Secret Service lead agent came bursting through the door of my office and said, “Sir, we have to leave—now,” and grabbed me and didn’t leave me any option, really, moved me as fast as he could out through the West Wing and down into the tunnel that leads to the emergency-operations center. The agent informed me then that he had received word over his radio that there was an airplane headed for Crown, which is the code name for the White House, at a very high rate of speed.

There were a couple of things I was concerned about that morning, initially. First of all, of course, was to find out what the scale of the attack was. We actually had tail numbers for six hijacked aircraft. Turns out there were only four, but for quite a while that morning, we thought there were at least six. Then we got reports that there were bombings across Washington—a car bomb at the State Department, another explosion at the Lincoln Memorial and so forth. It wasn’t true. But initially, there was—the fog of war, I guess, would be the best way to describe it. There was a following concern, which was to make certain that we’d preserve the continuity of government. That was one of the reasons it was so important for the President and I not to bunch up together, for example, in the White House. If the White House were struck and we were both there, all of a sudden you’re without presidential leadership.

When I became Vice President, one of the reasons the President picked me had to do with my own background as Secretary of Defense and a member of the Intelligence Committee, former White House chief of staff. Getting into the national security arena, working with the intelligence community and so forth were things he wanted me to do. And I did.

We’d always treated terrorist acts before primarily as a law enforcement problem. The approach had been one of going out and finding the guilty party, bring them to trial and put them in the slammer. After 9/11 you couldn’t look on those as

just law enforcement problems anymore. It clearly was an act of war. And that’s a significant shift. It’s more than just rhetoric. It means that you’re going to use all of the means available. It led directly to such things as the terrorist-surveillance program, where we significantly enhanced our ability to intercept communications coming from a suspected site or individual overseas. Our enhanced-interrogation program—once we captured somebody like Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, it was very important we find out what they knew. We put together a program that would allow us to do that. Those were not without controversy. Not everybody agreed that was the right way to go. The President and I felt very strongly it was.

A whole series of activities—programs, budget priorities, military decisions—were made that related specifically to what had happened on 9/11. But most especially, how did we propose to prevent another 9/11? We were worried then and remain worried today that the next attack might be terrorists armed not with box cutters but with weapons of mass destruction, biological agents, a nuclear weapon. We did everything we could to prevent another attack. We were successful for 7½ years, the time we had remaining to us while we were in office. I think that was a measure of the success of the policy. It worked.

The first priority, obviously, was Afghanistan because that’s where Osama bin Laden was. Iraq was of concern because you had this problem of weapons of mass destruction combined with the possibility of terrorists’ acquiring that kind of capability. The President made a decision, which I wholeheartedly supported, that we needed to deal with Iraq as the next major threat. I think we’ve made significant progress in Iraq. I think the world is much safer today—and I know the people of Iraq are in much better shape—as a result of the actions we took. It’s been expensive in terms of lives, it’s been expensive in terms of finances, but I think it was absolutely the right thing to do.

I’m not, obviously, a big supporter of President Obama, but I gave him credit where I thought credit was due. He made the decision to send in the Navy SEALs, SEAL Team 6, to kill bin Laden. That’s something we’d been working on throughout the time we’d been in office and altogether for nearly 10 years.

I’ll always be grateful for George Bush having selected me. There were a lot of other would-be candidates out there, some of whom would have been possibly more significant from a political standpoint, but he explained to me that if I signed on, I would have an opportunity to be an important part of his Administration, and he kept his word. I planned to be an academic, and I ended up a politician, a political figure. As I look back on those years, at various things I got to do, I consider myself very fortunate. But in terms of how I did, giving myself a grade, I’ll let others worry about that. I took the oath of office to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. It’s a special privilege to be asked to do that. I can’t think of anything more important than what we did do.” —Dick Cheney, interviewed by Paul Moakley, Jackson Hole, Wyo., July 6, 2011



DICK CHENEY

FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

"There were an awful lot of people in the intelligence community, the military and our Special Operations command that had been focused on getting bin Laden, and I think virtually all Americans were delighted when they pulled it off."



DAVID PETRAEUS

DIRECTOR OF THE CIA, RETIRED FOUR-STAR GENERAL

"I think that a response to a horrific event like this is one that in a sense accumulates. It's like policy. Policy is not always made—policy also accumulates, the result of many decisions as a country moves forward collectively. I think that's an accurate description of how the response to the 9/11 attacks evolved over time."



JAMES YEE

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHAD ARNOLD FOR *Rolling Stone* AT GUANTANAMO BAY, 2002. 63

"In the process of raising concerns about prisoner abuse in Guantanamo, I thought I was being recognized for doing a good job. Instead, when my plane landed at Jacksonville Naval Air Station, I was swarmed by customs officials, immigration officers, intelligence officers. I was arrested in secret. It was like I had disappeared in America, in my own country."



CINDY SHEEHAN

"I think that moms resonate with everybody. If you're not a mom, you have a mom. And usually you have a good relationship with your mom, and even a lot of people who didn't agree with me understood that relationship."



NORA MOSQUERA

"He used to tell me, 'Coming here to the United States, I've been able to finish high school, and I'm attending college. I found a family, which is what I've always wanted. The United States has offered me so much that I feel that I really need to give something back.'"

"We walked into hell, basically. We lost a couple great guys, and I'm sad to say that, but they went out doing their job."

JOSHUA FRAPPIER



From left:

**SERGEANT
FELIPE PEREIRA**
Nominated for the
Distinguished Service
Cross after serving
in Afghanistan

**SERGEANT
JOSHUA FRAPPIER**
Awarded two
Bronze Stars with
Valor while serving
in Afghanistan

**SPECIALIST
NICHOLAS ROBINSON**
Awarded a Silver
Star after his first
combat experience
in Afghanistan

**SERGEANT
KARAH JARRETT**
Awarded two
Purple Hearts after
serving in Iraq
and Afghanistan



'On

SEPT. 11, I WAS IN THE CIA HEADQUARTERS. I WAS A SENIOR operations manager. I was working on something called the Iraqi Task Force, and our mission was to try to understand what was going on with the presumed WMD program of Saddam Hussein's Iraq. I was a covert operations officer until my true identity and affiliation was exposed in a column by a conservative writer in July 2003. When you are in that covert category, you cannot tell even your closest friends who you really are.

Just a couple months after 9/11, there had been a report circulating within the intelligence community about this alleged sale of yellowcake uranium from Niger to Iraq. If that were true, that would be really significant, because it would be indicative that Saddam was in fact seeking to reconstitute his nuclear program. As we were discussing this, a reports officer said, "Well, what about Joe Wilson?"—my husband. He suggested that Joe go investigate this report, for a couple of reasons: my husband had been the *chargé d'affaires* in the embassy in Baghdad during the first Gulf War. He'd negotiated the release of the hostages with Saddam. He had lived and worked in Africa as a diplomat for over two decades, and he had done a previous classified mission for the CIA.

So he did go to Niger, and when he came back, he was debriefed immediately by analysts, and he said, "I looked into this thoroughly. It's totally bogus, and here's why." That report was disseminated throughout the intelligence community. In fact, it matched two others—one from our ambassador and another from a four-star Army general.

Fast-forward to January 2003, and the President gives the State of the Union address. In it, he says the now infamous 16 words: "The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." I remembered, of course, thinking about my husband's trip, but there are other countries in Africa that mine this yellow-cake uranium, so maybe the President was referring to one of those. But it was strange.

Then Secretary of State Colin Powell gave his speech before the U.N. I personally was very interested to see what General Powell had to say, how he was going to make the case to go to Iraq, a pre-emptive war. And as I listened to him, I was experiencing cognitive dissonance, because what he was saying did

not match the intelligence to which I had been privy. I was deeply disturbed. But of course, we went to war in March 2003.

During this time, there's stories in the press about an unnamed retired U.S. ambassador who had gone to Niger, investigated these reports and come up with nothing. My husband was warned, finally, that this story was going to break open, and you're going to be named, and if you want to do anything about it, you're going to have to do it yourself. In July 2003—July 6—he wrote an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* titled "What I Didn't Find in Africa." He went after the central rationale that the Administration gave for their war, which was an imminent nuclear threat. My husband wrote 1,500 words that said, I went on this mission and investigated this particular claim, and there is no validity to it. I believe that the intelligence has been manipulated. And clearly the Administration was feeling vulnerable because no WMD had been found and immediately went into oppositional mode. A week later, my name and true agency affiliation were exposed in a syndicated column. So I knew my career was over, my assets with whom I had worked were in jeopardy, and it was a completely different ball game. It was like falling down Alice's rabbit hole.

The White House acknowledged that those 16 words did not rise to the level of inclusion in a presidential speech. But that wasn't the end. For years my husband and I were subjected to a character assassination campaign. Ultimately it led to the conviction on four out of five counts for Dick Cheney's chief of staff, Scooter Libby. For my husband and myself, the most important count was obstruction of justice. We're grateful, ultimately, that the truth has come out. Almost everyone now will say, Yes, the intelligence was manipulated, and the American people were sold a war that maybe wasn't in our best interest. I don't think history will judge those decisions well, because we're almost eight, nine years into two wars, and the amount of blood and treasure that has been spent by this country—not to mention the civilian casualties in Iraq and Afghanistan—is incompatible. I'm afraid it is a legacy that will endure for generations.

It took a couple years to acclimate myself. But a couple of years ago we moved out to Santa Fe, N.M., and we really have worked hard to rebuild our lives professionally and personally. And I feel grateful, because I get to work on issues that I still care about deeply, namely counterproliferation—making I sure the bad guys don't get nuclear weapons—but in a much more obviously overt capacity. I'm an advocate for Global Zero. When I was working at the CIA, I was trying to stop or delay or impede the proliferation of nuclear weapons. I've evolved to the point now where I truly believe we need to have as an objective a nuclear-free world. President Obama declared in Prague [in 2009] that this is our No. 1 security concern.

I've had enough of politics. But it has been a pleasant surprise in a way, because I do have more of a public voice, and I can advocate for things that I care about deeply.

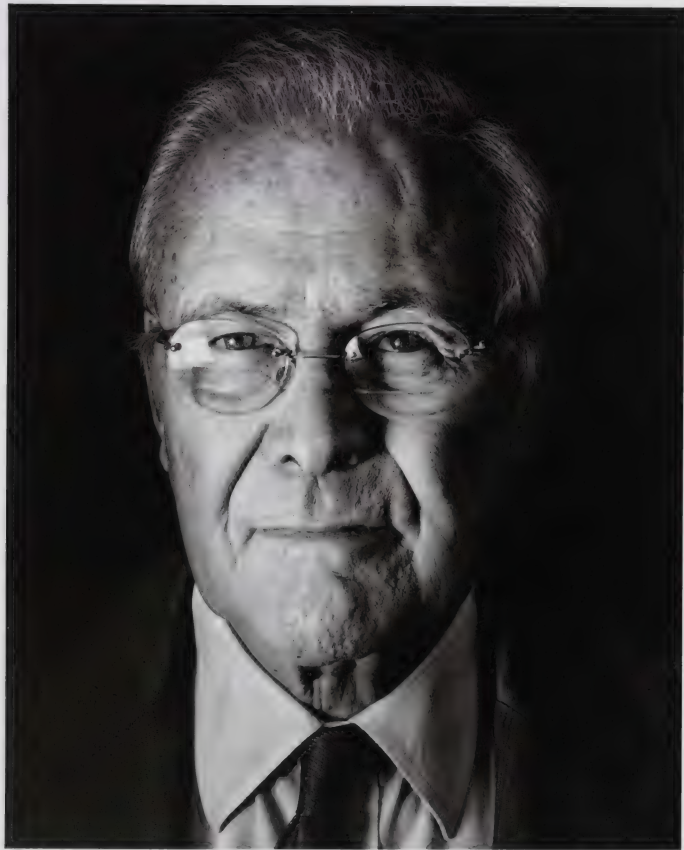
—Valerie Plame Wilson, interviewed by Paul Moakley, *New York City*, June 17, 2011



VALERIE PLAME WILSON

FORMER CIA COVERT OPERATIONS OFFICER

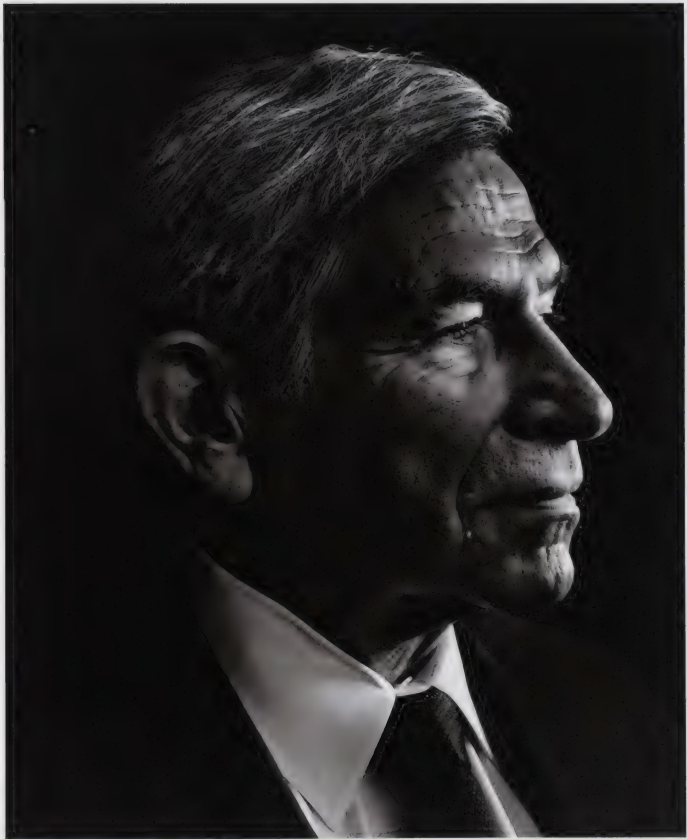
"We live in what I believe to be the greatest democracy in the world. With all its failings, it's still the best model that we've come up with, and it is really imperative that people take the last decade and the lessons learned and make sure that you apply them and hold your public officials to account."



DONALD RUMSFELD

COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U.S. ARMY

"It was a few minutes later that the Pentagon was hit. I walked around the side of the building and could see pieces of metal lying all over the grass out there and people that were wounded, people that were being brought out of the building who were dead and injured. The first responders had not yet arrived, and it was a terrible, terrible sight."



PAUL WOLFOWITZ

STYLING: JESSICA HARRIS; HAIR: JEFFREY M. HARRIS; MAKEUP: JESSICA HARRIS

"I recall at some point early on, Secretary Rumsfeld commenting—I think in a press briefing—that we're in for a long struggle, possibly as long as the Cold War. I was still in the mode of thinking, Oh, no, no, this will be over in a few years. But he was obviously right. It is as long as a Cold War."



JULIAN LAVERDIERE AND PAUL MYODA

CO-CREATORS OF *TRIBUTE IN LIGHT*, FIRST STAGED AT GROUND ZERO IN MARCH 2002

"It wasn't necessarily intended as a memorial. It was intended as something ephemeral, and for the present." —J.L.
"I was most struck when talking to one of the workers down there. He basically said that for so many months, all they were doing was looking down into the pit in Ground Zero, and this was one of the first times people looked up." —P.M.



DAISY KHAN

EVENTS THAT SHOCKED THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MUSEUM REINFORCEMENT

"We had been shut out from this tragedy for almost 10 years. And then when we tried to do something that was a center of healing and a center of openness to all, people said, 'No, this is not your tragedy. You're not going to do this here. This is not your country.' And that hurt. That hurt for the first time, because I had never experienced discrimination firsthand."



2003 THERE WAS AN AMERICAN ATTACK ON MY HOUSE. I lost my arms—my body is burned—and also my family. They're dead. I lost my father, brother and my mother and 13 other members of my family.

That day I was out with my father visiting his friends, and we came back at 9 o'clock in the night. At 10 o'clock I went to sleep. We were all asleep. And I just heard a big noise and the house was destroyed. The ceiling and the wall fell on us, and the fire was all over the house. I could hear my family screaming, and I felt the fire on my body, and it was lots of pain. My neighbor came and took me out from under the rubble. He went to my father to get him out. It was too late. He found him dead—my mother as well. I was the last person that he found, and he was digging under the rubble, and he got me out. He put me in a car and sent me to the hospital.

I didn't know that my family was dead until one or two weeks after the accident. I felt there was something wrong, because when I was at the hospital, all the time I was asking about my family: where they were, why they don't come and visit me. I started asking my auntie, and she said, "They are not here anymore, and they can't come and see you." So I found out they were dead.

It was very scary, because at this time there was not many hospitals open. In Baghdad there was only two hospitals, and so many injured people came. In my room there was about four or five of them with all different kinds of injuries. You hear the bombings very near to the hospital. I actually wanted to die, just because I had so much pain. I just wanted to be relieved. I didn't expect myself to live, but you know, God wanted me to live. My family members, they always were supporting me, saying, "You will be O.K., and when you come out of hospital, you will come back and live with us."

They didn't explain why they had to amputate my arms. They explained it to my uncle, and he was signing the pa-

pers for it as well. I found out after that they needed to do this because they were very badly burned. It was when I was getting better—that was in Kuwait—I started using my feet. Physically, I was doing better. I was playing football and PlayStation. And I started painting with my feet. I did this for a charity, to support the people in Iraq. I did some paintings, and they made it into cards. And they bought wheelchairs to send to Iraq.

I started walking after six months. My family wasn't there to see me walking, but when I went back to them after 1½ years, they started crying, because I haven't seen them for a long time, and they all were only hearing my news on TV and newspapers. I used to see those photos all the time. I just feel that wasn't me before, you know? For me it's all like a dream, a nightmare.

I had lots of offers from all over the world—from Canada, America and some other countries. There was an offer to take me to Canada—it was a good offer, but they didn't want to take my friend Ahmed with me. I met Ahmed in the hospital in Kuwait. He was also injured in Iraq. He had lost his arm and his leg, also in an American attack on his house. I said, "No, I will not go to Canada unless you take Ahmed." They said, "We can't do it." And somebody from London came, and he said, "I want to take you and take your friend Ahmed," and I said O.K.

We came to London together. It was, of course, difficult because I didn't speak any English and I wasn't used to the English food and English life and the weather. So I had to adapt to life in England.

I have plans to do a charity. It's a work in progress now. We're trying to build a website for it. It will be hopefully open in the next few months. This charity will help the victims of war. Lots of people like me suffer from the war, and I think the war is very bad and shouldn't happen.

I don't mind the American people. I went to America for a charity there. The American people are nice, but I don't like their government and the policy. I felt angry toward the United States for what they had done to me and to my family. I was always angry about what happened to us and what happened to me. Of course I was angry.

To be honest, I don't think it has got better than before. Saddam—as Iraqis, nobody, not many people liked him. But if you were away from him and don't say anything, he will not come and attack you. Now people sitting at home have bombs falling on their houses without any reason.

I go to Iraq every summer. I like to go there a lot. I don't think I will go back to live in Iraq, because it's still not safe. It's difficult for me to go back there because how will I live there? People there are poor. My family is not very rich. So I think for now I should live here. When things get better in Iraq—hopefully, things will get better soon." —Ali Abbas, interviewed by William Lee Adams, London, July 3, 2011



ALI ABBAS
TRASH CIVILIAN

"I think the military target was 2 km, 1 km away from us—even more perhaps. It's not very close to us. We live in a farm, and all our sheep and cows are outside. I don't see any reason why this happened."



WILLIAM MCRAVEN

REAR ADMIRAL, COMMANDER, U.S. SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND

In his 1996 book *Spec Ops*, William McRaven identifies six principles that define a successful mission, including simplicity, speed and surprise. When his team of Navy SEALs flew into Abbottabad in search of Osama bin Laden, they were armed with all six, but perhaps most important was purpose—a tactical art surely, with a larger meaning more difficult to define.



CRISTINA JONES

PILOT/STEWARDESS/ACTRESS/WRITER/PRODUCTION DESIGNER

"I thought it was a fire. I was really overcome with a sense of urgency that he was dangerous to the safety of our airplane and perhaps threatening our lives. So I jumped into the seat next to him, and I wrapped my arms around his upper body. He bit me over the knuckle of my thumb. At that point I started screaming, 'Help me! Help me! Help me! Stop him!'"

'9/11

STARTED OFF AS A REGULAR MORNING IN THE FIREHOUSE. WE got a call around 8 o'clock for a gas leak in the street at Church and Lispenard, about 12 blocks away from the World Trade Center. It was a beautiful summer day, bright sunshine and warm weather. While we were standing in the street, we heard a loud roar of a plane. We saw it for a glance, and then it was hidden behind some buildings. And when it appeared again, I saw the plane aim and crash into the north tower of the World Trade Center. I got on the radio and said, "A plane just crashed into the World Trade Center." About a minute later, after I was able to think a little bit and realize what was taking place, I got back on the radio, and I said, "Battalion 1 to Manhattan: this looked like the plane was aiming for the building. This was a direct attack."

We could see the smoke coming from the Trade Center. We knew that at that moment, tens of thousands of people were in the greatest need, and we had to do something. As the firefighters came in, the order was to go to the 70th floor. We figured eight floors was a good margin of safety. I can remember one lieutenant from Engine 33 came up to me and just looked. We looked at each other, just concerned about whether we were going to be O.K. I told that lieutenant to take his unit and go up and start to evacuate and rescue those that were in trouble. That was the last time I saw that lieutenant.

At 9:03 that morning, we heard another loud roar of a plane. This time the plane crashed into the south tower. Now with two towers on fire, we split our operations. The firefighters went in and climbed to rescue those on the upper floors. But then, at 9:59, we heard this loud roar. I had really no idea what it was. We thought maybe the elevators were blowing out or something from the plane was crashing into the lobby. Then the entire lobby went black, and we heard this rumbling sound. I got on the radio and said to all units in Tower 1, "Evacuate the building." But we made a slow retreat—because what you saw on TV we did not see. We had no idea that an entire 110-story building had just collapsed to the ground.

As we were ready to move from the lobby, I noticed there was someone lying at my feet. It was Father Mychal Judge. I bent down, I removed his white collar and checked for a pulse, and I knew at that point that he was gone. See, Father Judge was with us in the lobby, and usually when he's with us at fires, he would have a smile and a glance—Hey, are you doing O.K.? But this

time was different. I saw in the lobby that he was praying—it was like a physical prayer. I could see his lips move, and I could see the stress on his face. It was no longer an ordinary fire.

Even standing in the street, we could not understand about the collapse of the south tower. Then I remember hearing another loud roar, and we started to run. This beautiful summer morning, bright sunshine, went totally black. You couldn't see the hand in front of your face. And then there was an eerie sound of silence. All the chatter on the radio went quiet. You heard nothing. It was like a new snowfall. It was just a muffled sound of silence.

That day, we continued to search for people, and we found some, but not many. I remained at the Trade Center site till probably around 11 o'clock at night. The streets of New York were totally dark. I walked into the firehouse. It was a very somber mood. They told me that the people from Ladder 1, Engine 7—the two companies that were in my firehouse—we all survived. But we lost so many others. I remember being overly tired and not being able to see because of the dust that went in my eyes. So I drove back home. I knew my family would be worried. When we met that evening around midnight, we embraced each other with a lot of tears. The next morning, I got up about 6 and was really unable to see. I called a friend, my college roommate, who's a cardiologist, Tom Cunningham, and I said, "Tom, I can't see too good. You've got to help me." He was able to give me an eye doctor, who I met with every day for the next three weeks, and he took 50 pieces, slivers of steel, out of my eyes.

That lieutenant I spoke about was my brother, and it was good that we met. We recovered his remains in February 2002. I rode in the back of the ambulance with him, which had to be one of the saddest days of my life. But I can remember back through tears and despair, starting to remember the good things we did, like sailing—sailing on a beautiful summer day, so similar to the day of 9/11. Those memories and the memories of so many other firefighters are the things that hold us together.

People ask, What does it mean to be a hero? I define heroes as those who do ordinary things but in an extraordinary time. That's what the firefighters did. They went up and did ordinary things, like encouraging people to continue down, don't stop, continue to walk. Climbing stairs with almost 100 pounds of equipment, trying to get up to those who couldn't get out themselves. Ordinary things, but it was at this extraordinary time.

9/11 is not just a New York City event or even an event that happened in the United States. It's an international event. It connected all victims of terrorism. As I traveled around the world and I heard other victims talk, 9/11 gave them a voice. That little roadside bombing, little café bombing, now had a voice. Whether it's London, Madrid, Afghanistan, Israel, India—every part of the world suffers some sort of terrorist event. I think the anniversary is a time for people to think about what took place but also to think about how the world community can change and can fight terrorism. It's the world community coming together and saying, These are acts against humanity, and we can stop it." —Joseph Pfeifer, interviewed by Kate Pickert, New York City, July 9, 2011



JOSEPH PFEIFER

"Many of the firefighters who went up there, it was the last time we saw them. But they went up. They went up and climbed the narrow stairs to help those that were in their greatest moment of need."

"9/11 IS A PART OF ME.
PEOPLE SAY, 'ARE YOU GOING TO
WE MOVE FORWARD, B

—HOWARD LUTNICK, C

IT'S A PART OF ALL OF US.
'MOVE ON?' AND THE ANSWER IS,
"BUT IT STAYS WITH US."

CEO, CANTOR FITZGERALD

BEYOND 9/11

Rising Up

Photographs by
Joel Meyerowitz for TIME





MAY 10, 2011

Construction on both the new 1 World Trade Center, far left, with 80 of 102 floors built, and 4 World Trade Center, which will top out at 72 floors, is set for completion in 2013





SEPT. 2, 2011

*The footprint of the north tower
nine days before the memorial's dedication.
The site will feature waterfalls and
reflecting pools. The names of those who died
there are engraved along the outer rim*





SEPT. 2, 2011

The Callery pear known as the Survivor Tree, far right, was found in the rubble, nursed back to life at Van Cortlandt Park in the Bronx and replanted at the site last year

September 11 did not change everything. For the several thousand Americans who died that day, of course, and the thousands more killed or wounded in the resulting wars and for the families and friends of all of them, the existential

consequences of 9/11 could not be larger. But its impact on the ways most of us live our lives? Not so much. It was a jolt that altered the course of history spectacularly, but it has not, for better and for worse, transformed the American people. Terror, we discovered, has a half-life.

After the attacks, experts predicted epidemic levels of posttraumatic stress. But the number of people suffering psychological problems was vanishingly small—just six months later, a fraction of 1%, even among Manhattanites. In the short term, in fact, the attacks actually made most of us happier. According to polls in the fall and winter after 9/11, a huge majority of Americans, between 57% and 72%, suddenly thought the country was headed in the right direction. We felt united in our horror and confusion and determination. But within six months, that spike of hopefulness had evaporated. On one hand, antiwar fever began rising, and on the other, everyday life in America returned to normal.

Like a lot of New York City families, my wife and I fretted in the aftermath. We considered moving to another cosmopolitan city where the chances of mass catastrophe seemed remote, and we found the perfect house—in New Orleans. But we decided to stay put. Terror has a half-life.

Absent 9/11 or its equivalent, we wouldn't have invaded Afghanistan and Iraq, wouldn't have spent \$2 trillion or \$3 trillion fighting those wars and so might not now be in the grip of a panicky debate over how to cut \$2 trillion or \$3 trillion of debt. But have the attacks and our two wars made the U.S. significantly more inclined to exercise military power (as World War II did) or less (as Vietnam did)? No. Was President George W. Bush's 2001 line-in-the-sand declaration, "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists," the beginning of a permanent new Manichaean U.S. posture? No.

For a couple of years, our reasonable fears spilled over here and there into panicky overreach, leading to un-American excesses. But then we calmed down. Terror has a half-life. We did not turn into a police state. Free political discourse resumed.

Before 9/11, American prejudice against Muslims was negligible, so that is a real change. Yet given that al-Qaeda casts itself as an Islamic vanguard and its jihadists have continued trying to kill American civilians, it's surprising how relatively little anti-

Muslim ugliness has been spewed. Last summer's Ground Zero-mosque controversy was sad and unnecessary, and the ongoing anti-Shari'a-law movement is nuts. But we've seen much, much worse—internments of Japanese Americans during the Second World War and of German Americans during the First.

It takes us a little longer now to get into office buildings—and a lot longer to get on airplanes. But those are inconveniences, not sea changes.

There was one large way in which America and Americans should've and could've changed but did not. That would have required President Bush to announce an urgent national project for the post-9/11 age: Because our dependence on oil is ultimately what sustains the jihadist pathology, he could have said, we must start reducing that dependence as quickly as possible. In the emergency can-do window of 2001 and 2002, he could have rallied Congress and the public to support a serious, sensible, radical new energy policy, including significant new taxes on petroleum.

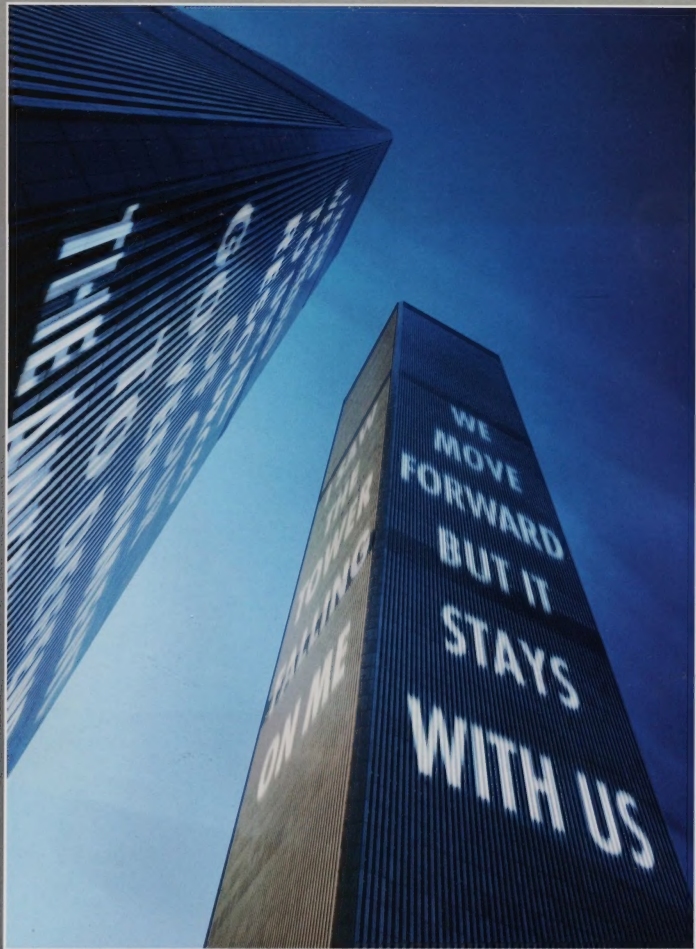
But he demanded nothing of most Americans. "We will rid the world of the evildoers," he said, but the armed forces and intelligence community—a tiny proportion of us—would take care of that. The other 98% were encouraged only to keep calm and carry on. "Do your business around the country," the President said in September 2001. "Fly and enjoy America's great destination spots." "People are going about their daily lives, working and shopping and playing," he said two months later, "going to movies and to baseball games."

Yes, right, good: we were not cowed. But with the insistence that American life should not change a whit, we implicitly declared that the era of irrational exuberance would proceed and accelerate. Expanding debt and shriveled savings, prices of real estate and stocks soaring ever higher—that was the way we rolled before 9/11, and by God, that'd be the way we rolled after 9/11.

The national display of resilience has been amazing and heartening. But the what-me-worry flip side of resilience is the state of denial about our unsustainable bad habits. Yes, the terrorists would have won if we'd cowered in fear. Undaunted and unchanged, America has shown its mettle. But I think we'd be feeling better now if, 10 years ago, we'd also had the courage to see a new way forward and really change. ■

BY KURT
ANDERSEN

(Continued from inside front cover) prison in Iraq air on 60 Minutes II and are published in the New Yorker. The Department of Defense removes 17 soldiers and officers from duty. Eleven soldiers are charged with dereliction of duty, maltreatment, aggravated assault and battery; in the next two years they are each convicted by court-martial, sentenced to military prison and dishonorably discharged from service / **July 5, 2004** New York Times "Rebirth Marked by Cornerstone at Ground Zero" / **July 22, 2004** The 9/11 Commission Report is released; it declares that both Presidents Bill Clinton and Bush were not well served by the FBI and CIA and notes numerous intelligence failings / **Sept. 11, 2004** New York Post: "A WTC Site to Behold: Planners Debut New Vision; Rebuilding Steams Ahead" / **October 2004** Days before the U.S. presidential election, bin Laden releases a videotape in which he publicly acknowledges for the first time al-Qaeda's involvement in the 9/11 attacks and warns of the possibility of repeat strikes / **Nov. 2, 2004** Bush is re-elected President of the United States, with 50.7% of the vote / **Nov. 9, 2004** New York Times "U.S. Begins Main Assault in Fallujah, Settling Off Street Fighting" / **Jan. 12, 2005** U.S. intelligence officials confirm that the U.S. has stopped searching for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, no WMD were ever found / **April 27, 2005** George Tenet, former CIA director, reflects on his claim that the CIA had "slam dunk" evidence proving Iraq's possession of WMD: "Those were the two dumbest words I ever said." / **July 7, 2005** Four suicide bombers detonate explosives on three London trains and one bus during morning rush hour in attacks that claim 52 lives. The bombings are later linked to al-Qaeda / **Aug. 6, 2005** Cindy Sheehan, whose son Casey was killed in Iraq, vows to camp out near Bush's ranch in Crawford, Texas, until the President agrees to meet with her / **Nov. 4, 2005** New York Times "Without Fanfare, Building of New Trade Center Starts" / **March 15, 2006** Congress forms the Iraq Study Group, a bipartisan, no-personal plan tasked with assessing the Iraq war and recommending policy initiatives / **March 31, 2006** New York Times "Ground Zero Still in Limbo as Tails Fall" / **April 13, 2006** Calling his handling of the war in Iraq an "absolute failure," six retired military generals and admirals call for Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's resignation. Seven months later, Rumsfeld resigns; Robert Gates is appointed in his place / **April 28, 2006** United 9/11, the first Hollywood movie to draw its narrative directly from the 9/11 attacks, opens / **June 7, 2006** U.S. troops north of Baghdad assassinate al-Qaeda's leader in Iraq, Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi. TIME puts a red X over the face of al-Zarqawi on the cover / **Sept. 11, 2006** On the fifth anniversary of the attacks, Bush sends a message to bin Laden: "We will find you, and we will bring you to justice." / **Nov. 6, 2006** Saddam is found guilty by an Iraqi court of crimes against humanity and is sentenced to death by hanging / **Nov. 19, 2006** New York Daily News "A Towering Start: Huge Concrete Foundation Poured for WTC Building" / **Dec. 6, 2006** The Iraq Study Group releases its report. It concludes that "stability in Iraq remains elusive and the situation is deteriorating... Time is running out" / **Dec. 30, 2006** Saddam is executed by hanging at Camp Justice in Iraq / **Jan. 10, 2007** In a prime time address, Bush announces "the new way forward in Iraq," which includes a surge of some 20,000 additional troops / **May 9, 2007** Six Islamist extremists are arrested by the FBI for allegedly plotting to attack the Fort Dix military base in New Jersey / **June 2, 2007** Three people are arrested in connection with a failed terrorist attack at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York City / **June 11, 2008** Officials announce that the 9/11 memorial will not be open to the public in time for the 10th anniversary / **Sept. 2, 2008** Workers erect the first steel column at the 9/11 memorial site / **Sept. 11, 2008** The Pentagon memorial opens to the public; it features a 2-acre (0.8 hectare) park with 184 benches, one for each victim of the attack on the building / **Oct. 2, 2008** The Port Authority releases a report that says the reconstruction of Ground Zero will take up to two years longer than projected and will cost an additional \$1.5 billion. New York Post: "WTC Timeline Drags into '13'" / **Nov. 4, 2008** Barack Obama is elected President, defeating John McCain with 52.9% of the vote / **Nov. 26, 2008** Pakistani-based Islamist militants carry out more than 10 coordinated shootings and bombing attacks across Mumbai. Over the course of four days, 164 people are killed and at least 308 are wounded / **Jan. 22, 2009** Obama issues an Executive Order to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay in one year. To date, 171 prisoners remain at Guantanamo / **June 4, 2009** In a major foreign policy speech at Cairo University, Obama vows "to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world" / **Oct. 13, 2009** New York Times "General Paul U.S. Troops in Iraq at 120,000 by End of October" / **Nov. 25, 2009** WikiLeaks releases more than 500,000 pager messages sent in New York City on 9/11; some are official messages, but most are from ordinary people searching for news about their loved ones / **Dec. 1, 2009** In a speech at West Point, Obama announces he'll dispatch an additional 30,000 troops to Afghanistan, redoubling America's efforts. TIME cover: "It's His War Now" / **Dec. 6, 2009** In an interview with George Stephanopoulos, Defense Secretary Robert Gates says that "it's been years" since the U.S. had good intelligence on bin Laden's whereabouts / **Dec. 9, 2009** The New York Times publishes a story about a Muslim community center, later known as Park 51, planned for construction near Ground Zero / **April 5, 2010** WikiLeaks releases video footage showing 12 people, including two Reuters journalists, being shot dead by a U.S. Army Apache helicopter gunman; the U.S. military refuses to punish the helicopter crew, saying, "At the time, we weren't able to discern whether [the Reuters employees] were carrying cameras or weapons." / **May 1, 2010** Street vendors discover a car bomb in New York City's Times Square; the bomb is disarmed before it causes any casualties. Two days later, authorities arrest Faisal Shahzad, a 30-year-old Pakistani-born resident of Bridgeport, Conn., as he sits aboard a flight bound for Dubai / **June 7, 2010** Federal officials arrest Private First Class Bradley Manning, a military intelligence analyst, for allegedly leaking the helicopter attack video; he is later charged with aiding the enemy, theft of public records, computer fraud and transmitting classified information to an unauthorized third party, among other things / **June 23, 2010** Obama accepts the resignation of General Stanley McChrystal, commander of U.S. troops in Afghanistan, after the general spoke disparagingly about the Administration in a Rolling Stone article. David Petraeus is tapped to replace him / **July 25, 2010** In the largest leak since the Pentagon Papers, WikiLeaks releases the Afghanistan war logs, a cache of some 76,000 classified U.S. military reports from the war in Afghanistan that detail unreported incidents of coalition forces killing Afghan civilians, raise questions about potential war crimes committed by coalition forces, note Pakistani support for the Taliban and expose Task Force 373, a unit commissioned with killing Taliban leaders / **Aug. 19, 2010** The last U.S. combat brigades depart Iraq, seven years after the U.S.-led invasion that left more than 4,400 American service members and tens of thousands of Iraqis dead. Some 50,000 troops remain in the country to advise Iraqi security forces and protect U.S. interests / **August 2010** A firestorm erupts over the proposed plan to construct Park 51 two blocks from the World Trade Center site. TIME cover: "Is America Islamophobic?" / **August 2010** Obama receives a tip that bin Laden is in Pakistan. The next month, CIA agents begin working to confirm intelligence / **Sept. 1, 2010** In a prime time address from the Oval Office, Obama says, "We have sent our young men and women to make enormous sacrifices in Iraq and spent vast resources abroad at a time of tight budgets at home... Through this remarkable chapter in the history of the United States and Iraq, we have met our responsibility. Now it's time to turn the page." / **Sept. 12, 2010** New York Post: "Nine Years Later, Finally Progress at Ground Zero" / **Oct. 5, 2010** Shahzad, the would-be Times Square bomber, is sentenced to life in prison after pleading guilty to charges of conspiracy to use a weapon of mass destruction and attempting an act of terrorism / **Oct. 22, 2010** WikiLeaks releases a cache of nearly 400,000 U.S. military documents from the Iraq war that the organization says indicate about 15,000 civilian deaths that were not previously recorded / **Nov. 15, 2010** New York Times "U.S. Plan Offers Path to Ending Afghan Combat" / **Jan. 2, 2011** Obama signs the James Zadroga 9/11 Health and Compensation Act, which provides \$4.3 billion in health care coverage for 9/11 responders and volunteers and expands eligibility for compensation for victims / **May 1, 2011** U.S. operatives kill bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan. Obama confirms bin Laden's death in a televised address to the American people, saying, "Justice has been done." Crowds gather outside the White House and at Ground Zero to mark the occasion. Michael Carroll, a 27-year-old firefighter from Brooklyn who lost his father, also a firefighter, on 9/11, says, "This is something that this country, these families, my family, has been waiting for so long." For the third time in a decade, TIME puts a red X on its cover, over the face of bin Laden / **May 2, 2011** Bin Laden's body is buried at sea. Ismail Haniyeh, the head of Hamas, says, "We condemn the assassination and the killing of an Arab holy warrior... We regard this as a continuation of the American policy based on oppression and the shedding of Muslim and Arab blood." / **June 22, 2011** Obama announces that he is beginning the long-anticipated withdrawal from Afghanistan / **Sept. 10, 2011** The Flight 93 National Memorial in Shanksville, Pa., opens to the public / **Sept. 11, 2011** The National 9/11 Memorial is dedicated. It opens to the public Sept. 12



WE
MOVE
FORWARD
BUT IT
STAYS
WITH US

THE
TOWER
TALKING
ON ME